

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasized later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organization. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected. [571] [602] [156] [578]

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realized through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips. [554] [178] [511] [156]

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain. [185] [167]

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Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this [842] [602] [611]

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

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The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.² The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives ¥10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from ¥100 to ¥500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

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The Rough Language of Minatogawa

The Minatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Minatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

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² The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

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The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (sanba). Physicians do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge based on experience. A midwife in Ginosu village takes care of the expectant mothers of Matsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of Hanashiro and Minatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her, or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted.

Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of those being the last three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is considered bad luck.

Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a flannel sash (a haraobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion, during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering. The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery.

After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose of the afterbirth (taiban, iya in Japanese).

In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the house in a place where it does not rain. In Matsuda, women relatives wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives, and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this custom. In Minatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its variants still has vitality.

According to a Ginosu midwife, maternal death in child birth is unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (Okayū) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane.

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A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals.

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The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from ¥20 which is usual to ¥100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate.

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These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food.

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Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in

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The New Year

Two basic themes are expressed in public celebrations and holidays. The first of these is remembrance and respect for the dead. The holidays are in part public observances of basic obligations under the family system. In the second place, holidays are occasions of thanksgiving. In a year there are not many official holidays or rest days. The work year is not interrupted, as is our custom, with week ends which may provide from one to two days of leisure. Sunday is not a day of rest. Officials and school teachers do not work at their official duties on the week ends. 527

The traditional public holidays are based on the lunar calendar. In the discussion which follows, some holidays have been included, even though they involve only some of the people. [805]

The western New Year is observed perfunctorily. It is observed only by present and former officials and honored elders of a township. The custom, about 40 years old in Gushichan-son, is known as New Year Banquet Party (Shinnienkai). Headmen from each of the villages, members and former members of the village councils, and respected elders, the mayor and his subordinate officials and members of the township assembly are the chief participants. It is a social event, held in a public building or at a school, a "meeting for conversation" (hanashiai) at which food and sake are served. The event begins early in the afternoon and is generally over by early evening. [177] [554]

Lunar New Year (shōgatsu), the first day of the first lunar month and O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, are the two most important holidays. Lunar New Year falls in late January or early February. (In 1951 it was on February 6; in 1952, on January 27). This is a time of new beginnings, of thanksgiving, family reunions, and observances in honor of the dead. It is a three day holiday, with much prior preparation, and on the third day, there is either a symbolic or a partial return to work.

The new year is preceded by a series of activities on the last day of the 12th month (oisoka). Before the war, these preparations were more elaborate than they are now. In Hinatogawa, bamboo and pine poles with a rice straw rope (shimenawa) hanging across the top were placed at the compound entrance. The purpose was to scare off evil spirits and devils. A piece of charcoal wrapped in sea weed and an orange hung from the rice rope. This custom now is also rare in Matsuda. Only one rice straw rope used for this purpose was observed, and this had been put up some time before the new year. [789]

Other customs of preparing for the new beginning are still observed in all the villages: the house is cleaned; a bath is taken; old debts are paid; the New Year pig is slaughtered, or in the interests of economy three or four families may share a pig. The day before the New Year is the occasion for recalling one's bad deeds and of resolving on [577]

the war, the upper stratum of society consisted of Japanese plus a few highly placed Okinawans. With the departure of the Japanese, there was no well developed class structure among the Okinawans to succeed to the Japanese hierarchy. Today in these villages, there are inequalities in economic well-being, and certain individuals or groups have greater prestige than others. But these, I am convinced, are not to be traced to a class structure. Any division of the village into upper, middle, and lower classes would be artificial and would put a strain on the facts. Differences, where they appear, are the result of individual qualities, such as age, the possession of land or money, or personal character. 565
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In the old Loochooan kingdom, there was a rigid class stratification based on the Chinese model. The Japanese abolished the Loochoo nobility after the islands became a province, but, according to Furness (1899), "the people still cling to the old custom."¹ Despite the abolition of the nobility, distinctions between noble and commoner were made up to the recent war. In the family registers, descendants of the Loochooan nobility (*shizoku*) were so designated. But all villagers agreed that these distinctions had no meaning or value, either for preferment in the Japanese service, or for one's social standing among his countrymen. For all practical purposes, everyone was a commoner. Since the war, the fact that one is a descendant of the Okinawan nobility is, if possible, even more inconsequential. No notation is made in the family register. Most men over 35 can tell instantly whether a given surname is of noble or common origin. 175
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The number of these descendants of nobles must be very great. Chamberlain in 1895 reproduced a table, which he said he had every reason to believe was accurate, showing an absurdly high proportion of nobles to commoners. These statistics were from the census of 1891 and for the entire Ryukyus:² 565
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	<u>Household Heads</u>	<u>Families</u>
Princes	2	35
Nobility and Gentry	22,567	95,082
Common People	57,981	235,213
Total	80,550	330,330

1 Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 7. For rank distinctions based on caps, stockings, sashes, and hair pins, see Simco, as cited, 155, 156-59. Hawk's Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. I, 224, Vol. II, 48. Basil Hall also gives rank orders in an appendix. Perry considered government by this nobility very oppressive. The CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands gives the historical background of the class structure and its manifestations in government.

2 In the article cited from the Geo. Jour. 5 (1895), 298.

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A common device among noble families was to vary the second character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of HouseGiven Name

Grandfather
Father
Present Head
First Son
Second Son
Third Son
Fourth Son

Chogyo
Chokan
Choyo
Choko
Choshin
Choksei
Chosei

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Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen. These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status. Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position. The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general impoverishment of the war. Neither are distinctions possible in dress, for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

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Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word *sōdan*, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

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What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs? First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

3 According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages, there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil—and this occupation is infrequent.

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conduct of a local business of any size, employment in official and semi-official organizations, and teaching require facility in reading and writing Japanese, that is, the use of the Chinese character and the two Japanese syllabaries, katakana and hiragana. It is true that under the Japanese and the present system of education, everyone learns the characters. But after school is left behind, there must be continued practice in reading and writing, or one's fund of knowledge gradually disappears and he remembers only a few of the simpler or more common characters. For responsible leadership, this school vocabulary must at least be maintained. A village headman today must hold his own in reading and writing. Reports have to be made to the township office. The frequent conferences and meetings require note taking. Storm warnings may be received, correspondence and simple record keeping are continual tasks. In one village, the criticism made of the headman was that his knowledge of characters was too elementary.

If a person has leisure, this makes him available for positions of leadership. A poor farmer could not ordinarily accept the position of village headman except at a great sacrifice. Public duties, even in a small village like Hanashiro, require that a headman be on call most of the time for meetings, or to hear personal problems and complaints of the villagers. It is significant that the former village headman of Hanashiro and the current headman of Matsuda both are operators of rice mills and do not have the exacting dawn to dusk duties of a farmer. In Hanashiro and Nagamo, the present headmen are operating farmers who are able to combine their private and public duties, but both places are small. The headman of Minatogawa, a fisherman, has had to forego many fishing trips because his duties kept him in the village.

Leadership is also assumed by those who have had foreign experience, either in the Japanese administrative hierarchy abroad or simply through foreign residence. These people generally have a broader point of view and know more.

The last factor is age. It is often thought that village life in Oriental countries under the family system is dominated by the older and respected males. It is true that the opinion of retired elders is sought for and respected, but not merely because of age. In addition, there may be a life of successful farming, teaching, office holding, possibly a combination of these, behind them. Leadership comes from young men too, usually the result of experience in the young men's association. Energetic leadership, often accompanied by organizational ability, is noticeable in the age group from about 24 to 27. Women have fewer opportunities but can show their abilities in their work in the Women's Association.

Village leadership rests both on the respected elders and the promising young men, on those who have kept and increased their skill in language, who have occupations that relieve them from the unremitting

55A labor of agriculture or fishing, or those, finally, whose life includes travel and foreign residence. Some of these are old, some new. The ideas coming from the repatriates are new. The influence of the young men is also to some extent a response to new conditions and to new ways of looking at things, which they, more adaptable than their elders, are in a better position to understand.

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Community Organisations

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[571] Community organisations fill in the gaps between family life and the formal mechanics of village government. Though Japanese imports, they also fit in the culture, which, like Japan, is accustomed to doing things in groups. The most important of these organisations are the Women's Association, Young Men's Association, Young Women's Association, volunteer fire brigades, and the neighborhood associations.

The Women's Association (Fujinkai). The Women's Association, an island wide organization with subordinate township and village branches, is primarily an organization of married women, but unmarried young women, too old for the youth organisations, and widows may belong. The village head of the association is elected, generally for one year, by the membership.

The interests and activities of the membership are an indication of the problems of village life as seen by the women. There may be, as in Hanashiro, house to house inspections with advice on how to improve sanitary conditions, making clothes, or teaching better ways to cook food, improving the dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen to eliminate eye irritations (a common complaint), attempts to induce people to spend less money on holidays and to spread their luxury and meat buying throughout the year. They might discuss the custom of squatting on the floor and its possible effects on bodily health and stature, or the desirability of replacing the heavy blankets on the floor with western style beds, or individual family problems, such as the family with all daughters, or girls without husbands. The trouble is that the conditions which the women as members of an organization are trying to improve are the very ones which, as wives, they are unable to correct. As a consequence, many of the plans do not go beyond the discussion stage, not because the women lack the will, but because the cumulative problems are overpowering. These groups however have positive accomplishments. They are influential in maintaining existing standards. They are trying with some success to eradicate the scabby sores that cover the faces, hands, and arms of infants and young children.

The Young Men's Associations (seinen-dan) fill in the gap between school and marriage when the adult male really takes his place in the village community. They are a training ground for working with others and for demonstrating leadership. Like the Japanese originals, the organization is for young men between 17 and 25. Their specific activities

623 (hyūgin) is an elected body, while the other, composed of village elders and public spirited men (yūshi) is a more honorary group. Sometimes the council is composed of one man from each neighborhood association. The elders are an unofficial body which because of its prestige is consulted when the headman and the council have an emergency problem and wish to get the advice of the respected men of the village. [55A] This group is composed of former village headmen, former members of the village council, and well-known residents, such as retired school teachers or farmers.

The village council, composed of about 10 men, is elected from the male heads of a household. Before the war, members were elder men, but they now include young men as well. The council advises the headman on matters for which he is reluctant to assume full responsibility. If the decision is important enough, the village assembly, composed of all the heads of families over 18 years of age, is consulted. A headman may use the village council to help in defending himself against unpopular decisions. The village headman and the council generally make the final decision on village matters, but any decision involving the expenditure of money is referred to the assembly of household heads.

621 Village government is democratic. The people know their elected leaders personally. The problems with which the people and their officials are concerned are concrete, and seldom matters of abstract principle. They usually are concerned with local improvements, taxation, and schooling. The people participate in local government through the village assembly, at which they elect the headman and the council members. They can criticize and question decisions and approve proposals for spending money.

A headman can conceal neither his strong points nor his faults. Village government utilizes the principle of group responsibility without sacrificing the principle of individual leadership and a strong respected headman can do much to prevent the formation of cliques within a village. This does not mean that individual antagonisms and differences of opinion do not exist, but they seem to be resolved before they reach the stage of organized opposition.

Village government is not an extension of the family system. The village headman is not the head of one large family. But there is individual leadership, consultation and discussion, and mutual agreement both in the family system and in village government. Family experience has both a private and a public character. The public influences of family life takes the form of tempering the formality and mechanics of government.

621 A village is composed of single families. Many have intermarried. 591 All of these families have a certain relationship to one another. They may be friends; they may live in the same neighborhood. Their children are known to one another as classmates, later as members of youth organizations. The families may have other associations, based on a common economic interest in agriculture, fishing, or pig raising. They

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by
the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a
[417] sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of
stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the
food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays
[262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when
several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every-
[438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most
[251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of
the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

[442] Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze
[417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut
from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have
[492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The
small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems
especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for
plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse
[434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre-
[427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by
them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before
the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The
[474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations,
which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms,
a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the
worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the
walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be
used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room.
[137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans
[462] have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry
leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When
the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their
diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be
raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry
leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute
[434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would
• [554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

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- 623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak up. Mothers bring their infants along and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.
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- 554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.
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FORMAL CONTROL

- 625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.
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- [166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman
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- 1 [i.e. - to the household head meeting -
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can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders. 625 [226]

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems. 625 578 [674] [273]

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred in the provincial courts in the town of Nago. 625 627 [692]

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers. 625 [554] [662] [861]

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm 632 647 625

592 [727] Table 1 shows the composition of 60 households in central Taira. It is probable that the effects of war dislocation have increased the number of nuclear households and account for at least one of the matrilineal extended households. Some of the fragmentary households, classed as nuclear, consist of just a widow or widower and an unmarried son or daughter.

Table 1 Household Composition in Central Taira

Total population	328
Number of households	60
Nuclear households	36
Patrilineal extended households * (3 generations)	18
Matrilineal extended households	4
Not classified	2

* In households classified as extended, grandparents of the youngest generation present are distributed as follows: grandmothers 14, grandfathers 4, both grandparents 4.

593 Relationships and status within the household are ordered according to generation, age, and sex. As will be discussed later, the status of women in general is high. High status of males, especially the first-born male in the family, must be considered as representing an ideal which is not reflected too distinctly in day-by-day interpersonal relationships, although birth order and sex are significant in ancestor worship and in representation of households. Ideally the younger generation members defer to the older people. Normal behavior, however, more frequently reflects a warm, personal relationship that, although not devoid of respect, tends to minimize differences and stress familiarity rather than distance.

613 Besides his membership in a household, the individual is part of a larger descent group, a "main house" in which all the members are related through the male line. Most of the "main houses" in the village trace descent to the founder of Taira. They represent three old lineages. The remaining belong to two more recent and unrelated lineages.

The houses of older and younger sons are distinguished, the term "stem" referring to the house of the founder and the descending line of his oldest sons and the term "branch" to those of younger sons who have set up separate households in the village or elsewhere. Through

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Both adult men and women also belong to mutual assistance groups, mutual loan associations, and to the work groups described in Chapter 3. All individuals between 16 and 57 are expected to cooperate in community work projects. All households are members of the village cooperative. Since most villagers look to the cooperative for help in improving their economic conditions, this draws them together in a familial way. 571 [653] [474]

It will be noted that age and marital status are prerequisites for membership in most of these associations and that only one is exclusively for women and one exclusively for men. 575

Taira culture is essentially egalitarian. Personal status is not ascribed by membership in social classes or achieved by the accumulation of wealth. Furthermore, although power and respect are the attributes of certain village offices, such as headman and school teacher, these only give rank *ex officio*. An ex-headman has no higher status than one who has never held such an office. 554 ●

There are factors, however, which do differentiate Tairans as to personal status. Men have somewhat more power and command more respect than women; adults must be addressed respectfully by children; older siblings have more authority and privileges than younger; and in recent years the educated are somewhat more respected and are more likely to be chosen to hold office than those with the minimum required amount of schooling. And since education often leads to better jobs, greater wealth is sometimes associated with status, though not a necessary prerequisite. [562]

The status of women in Okinawa, although, ideally, inferior to that of men, is in reality relatively high. Many cultural forms are based on the principal of male superiority, which Japanese values tend to reinforce, but there are numerous indications in daily life that women command a comparatively high degree of respect and power. It is difficult to assess to what degree status differences have been influenced by contact with Japanese; the importance of women in religious affairs suggest their higher status prior to the introduction of the Japanese school system in Taira. 554 562 177

As will be discussed in the chapter on religion, although the veneration of one's father's ancestors is the core of one part of Okinawan religion, the ceremonies are run by the women. The oldest male of each main house and the household head in each household are nominally responsible for keeping the tablets of the ancestors on his house shrine, but the actual upkeep of this ancestral shelf and the bimonthly offerings are performed by the women. If no direct male descendant is available to keep the ancestral tablets, a widowed woman retains them 769 782 562

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as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed little encouragement to drink and dance. 562 575 [888]

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to care-free diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men in drinking at home. 562 512 [273] [273] [888]

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow. 562 837

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grand-parental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grand-mother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent. 561 554 593 887 561 554 [596] [576]

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grand-mothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother" 603 601

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603 term. As the child gets older, the familiar suffixless form of address is
601 used less and less frequently, though girls seem to retain it longer than boys.

601 The strength of one's ties to the community as a whole regardless of
156 actual kinship is seen not only in the use of the term "grandmother"
576 and "grandfather" in addressing all members of this generation but also in the similar use of the terms "uncle" and "aunt" for all members of the parental generation. Those who are not known well or who have high status are addressed by the appropriate kinship term with the suffix -san added.*

● 554 Achieved status is recognized by special terms of address. The teacher,
576 school principal, the doctor, the village headman or mayor are addressed by their titles. Taira people combine familiarity with formality by calling a young teacher from the same or neighboring community by the first name, then adding the title "teacher." †

621 In summary, although affiliation with a patrilineal descent group
156 and kinship ties with kindred influence certain aspects of life, over and
571 above these ties is the identification with the community, which is drawn together by bonds of economic and social interdependence. Individual leaders serve their term of responsibility and then return to the egalitarian community life, which is comparatively free of competitive strife.



Chapter 7

Courtship, Marriage, and Sex

582 Most marriages in Taira take place when both men and women are in their early or middle twenties (see Table 2). It is perhaps most note-

* This refers to the use of Japanese kinship terms which are prevalent in Taira—see Chapter 1, p. 370.

† The use of first names may also help to identify individuals since many persons have the same surname—this explanation, however, is not in contradiction with the statement concerning familiarity.

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were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people be-
lieved that this fact added even more proof.

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any
legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his
mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the dis-
tinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children.
Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no
legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may
receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains
legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of
ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot.
One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-
Japanese.

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases
of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for
such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to
live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born
by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man,
formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life
after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, appar-
ently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable inter-
action between the two although they lived separately. The husband
registers such children as his legal offspring.

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate
and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The
township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once
children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent, at least
there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A
husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to
separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient
cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a
settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce al-
though relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce
for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we
found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many
debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members
of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the
unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives al-
most none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient
cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce.

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like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance. [776
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[777]
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The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status. [793
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[177]
[613]
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The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and [793]

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177 Nevertheless, the school remains, in the eyes of the villagers, as a rallying point for ties with Japan.

No attempts have been made until the present to introduce Okinawan culture other than by a few occasional references to Okinawan history or folklore. Teachers, during discussion of reading material, refer to home life, farm work and mountain work to illustrate points made in the books.* School is the first opportunity for Taira children to become acquainted with the world outside their own village and to relate their own experiences to the rest of the island, Japan, and other parts of the world. Since Japan is the dominant subject of reading material, however, it is clear that no awareness of being "Okinawan" is developed.

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[554] Teachers, many of whom are young, are devoted to their work and to the children, even though their pay is hardly commensurate with their high status in the community and does not represent adequate compensation for the long hours of teaching and administrative work that demand most of their time. In addition, the community in which the teacher lives makes demands on him as one of the educated, able leaders. Both men and women teach. Some of the younger ones who follow the urgent call for teaching positions do not have much training beyond a high school diploma. During the summer, special teacher training courses are now conducted by university professors from Japan and the University of the Ryukyus. Graduates from the University of the Ryukyus Education Department are still too few in number to reach a remote country school, such as the one in Kawata. Most teachers come from one of the surrounding communities; others, mostly bachelors, are from other parts of the island. Children are therefore well acquainted with many of the school teachers, some of whom are neighbors, relatives, or friends of the family.

[554] The extremely modest appearance of teachers does not detract from their status and authority. The relationship between students and teachers is a mixture of respect, as dictated by custom, and intimacy, as a result of mutual affection. A conscientious teacher comes to know his students well during the school year and takes an active interest in them. Children can tell if a teacher is enthusiastic about his work and often establish a warm relationship with him. During our stay, the first two grades were divided into two sections, taught by women, while male teachers taught the upper four grades.

872 The school day starts at 8:30 with a study period before the formal meeting of the teacher and students on the open grounds in front of

* Some practical work in gardening begins in the upper elementary school classes. Only Junior High School students work in the fields as part of their curriculum.

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857 by bystanders. Hurrying home, they put their books away carefully,
 [291] change their clothing to that designated for play. The girls, eager to
 assume their new status and the responsibilities that go with it, hurriedly sweep and mop the floors of the house. The boys, who are less interested, rush out to play. Those with younger siblings are promptly entrusted with caretaking duties, and mothers and grandmothers go off to the fields.

At 8 o'clock each evening, even before the village bell is sounded for schoolchildren to start studying, the first graders are on their way home from their after-supper play time. On a quiet, still night their voices are loud and clear and their recitations spirited in comparison with those of the older children.

OBEDIENCE TRAINING

861 Not only in school is new behavior expected of the first grader. He
 865 must now be more obedient toward his elders. Adults, however, differentiate between commands for the performance of tasks and rules of safety. The standard, or more specifically the ideal, would be to command unquestioned obedience in both cases. The practice falls far from this mark, for adults lack persistence and consistency in the treatment of task performance. Obedience to rules of safety, however, [555] is enforced with greater consistency.

There is, of course, the disposition of the adult at the time when obedience is expected, which the child learns to discriminate very early. Children are more apt to obey their elders when the latter are tired and irritable after a hard day's work than when they are relaxed. It was interesting to observe children teasing parents and escaping obedience when the adults were relatively relaxed. "Bring me those things there," a parent would command a child. The child would laughingly shout "No," and run away without punishment. For this disobedient act a child would be spanked if the parent were tired and harassed. "If you do not listen well to adults, you will grow up to be a good for nothing, a criminal," warns a mother. But adults in their inconsistent handling fail to impress on children the virtue of obedience.

861 It is interesting that, in their relationship with adults other than
 865 their parents, children are often more obedient. People of special
 554 status and authority enjoy greater obedience from children. Teachers and village officials usually find their orders fulfilled. Shortly after the new water faucets were installed throughout the village, children be-

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gan playing with them excessively. Parents scolded, shooed, and threatened the children to no avail. Finally the village headman took steps to enforce the rule forbidding children to play with the faucets. Passing a faucet one day, he came upon a 9-year-old turning the water on and off. "You come to the office later. You know you are not supposed to play there," he said sternly to the boy. Later the boy reported to the office. The clerk, in the absence of the headman, instructed the boy to bring 10 yen and his father to the office. The boy ran home and returned to the office with 10 yen and told the headman, who had returned meanwhile, that his father was not back from the fields, so he was unable to accompany him. The headman's wife, in relating the story to the fieldworker, described how surprised and amused her husband was to find the boy so obedient. Because he had just assumed office a week earlier, he had not expected compliance with his orders.

An obedient child is rewarded with verbal praise and admiration by adults. He is told that he is a good child and that he has "a good head." If he is capable of anticipating commands and quick to comply with hints, parents of other children urge their children to play with him.

TECHNIQUES OF SOCIALIZATION

Although the child has learned many types of preferred behavior by the time he is 6 and has been rewarded and punished for many acts, his entry into first grade is a time of increased discipline and a suitable time to discuss the techniques used by Tairans in socializing their children.

Examination of the different techniques reveals that the most important and reliable of these is the denial or withdrawal of love. There is a good share of physical punishment, threatened food deprivation, and shaming. Praise and rewards are inconsistent and haphazard. Reference to a "God" is common, but there exists no complex system of instructive myths, stories, or prayers. Training in skills is highly informal.

The technique of withdrawal of love or support is a curious double-edged one. If we take the position of the child, we would conclude that he shows a deep sense of confidence in the bond between himself and his mother when he "runs away from the house" after a severe scolding or spanking. He runs away in the belief that he will arouse the anxiety of his mother and recover a love or support, which he has temporarily lost as a result of some transgression. This belief is rein-

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.¹ Although they appear to differ widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect. 197

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area. These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity. [62]

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it. [554] [77] [648] [177] [545] [554] [226]

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self-sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number [66] 197 105 [566] [565] [621]

¹ Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

² Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

191 (mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and
 178 music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no
 191 other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of
 178 the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiadefu (which some Okina-
 533 wans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are
 known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry
 as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and vir-
 191 tually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigen-
 178 ous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language
 174 of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one
 priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the
 language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or *umui*
 (sometime rendered *omoro*) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these
 are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly
 191 contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inex-
 178 tricably linked to it are shamans (*yuta*) and fortune tellers ('*ekisha*'). The
 754 former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned
 791 with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is
 usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpre-
 tations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of
 Changes (*I Ching*), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer,
 may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular,
 but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the
 shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

175 **Japanese** With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government ini-
 191 tiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national
 177 state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of
 148 Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrina-
 tion to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to
 making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Nara-
 hara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than
 175 all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.¹ At the start the Japanese
 191 were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead
 177 slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the
 871 bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully oper-
 ative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace
 Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities
 for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two
 generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received
 no more than six years of education.

191 Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becom-
 177 ing a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the
 554 prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and
 high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern
 life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards
 competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

¹ Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

by clinging to the native speech. Naturally it became impossible for a student to obtain a higher education or for any Okinawan to secure a government position without an adequate mastery of Japanese. A good knowledge of Japanese became the first prerequisite for those who wished to improve their status.

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Nearly all children in the rural areas and perhaps a majority of those in the urban areas first learn to speak Japanese when they enter school. It would seem that the main task of the elementary schools is to provide the students with an adequate knowledge of Japanese. On Okinawa as in all schools throughout the areas occupied by the Japanese, a standard language is taught; for the Okinawan child this means learning a new language, while for the child in Japan it means learning at the most a new dialect. Obviously a sixth-grade child on Okinawa will not have a proficiency in Japanese comparable to a sixth-grader in Japan. A recent testing of Naha and Tokyo school children indicated that the Okinawan children were far behind in nearly every subject. One informant, an urbanite who had lived for a time in Japan and rather prided himself on his Japanese, remarked that this clearly indicated the deterioration of the schools in the post-war period. When it was pointed out that this more likely reflected a lower educational attainment due to a language handicap, he readily agreed, and subsequent discussion revealed that a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken in his home. In this case the siblings, who had received high-school educations, used Japanese to one another but spoke only Okinawan to their mother, and the child of the house heard mostly Okinawan from her elders! A Ryukyuan scholar now holding a position in a large Japanese university informed the author that most high-school students are very hesitant about their Japanese and fear making a mistake. When this person first came to Japan after winning a scholarship to a higher school, he was startled by the fluency of the Japanese children! It should be noted that the post-war addition of English to the elementary school curriculum (from the 4th year on) serves only to impose another linguistic burden on the Okinawan child. Grade-school children who had studied English were completely unable to understand the simplest printed phrases; mastery was usually limited to counting from one to ten and reciting the alphabet as far as H without error, though the children can hardly be blamed, considering the texts and teaching level. The chief drawback to the texts is the transcription of English sounds in the Japanese syllabary; thus, a child is taught to pronounce ball as "booru", Smith as "sumisu", here as "hiya", etc. A friend who sat in on a class in English related that had he not been forearmed with a copy of the text and the knowledge that the class was studying English he would never have recognized the subject matter.

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In the greater Naha area, which serves as the cultural as well as the administrative and commercial center of the island, the use of Japanese is far more common than elsewhere. Prior to the war there was a sizeable Japanese community here, and from Naha things Japanese have diffused into the countryside. However, the Naha informant's home where a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken was not an atypical one, and this can readily be attested to by visiting the playground of any elementary school in Naha and listening to the speech of children. It may be expected that the post-war addition of three years of junior high school to the compulsory education period will do much to further the advance of Japanese.

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In all cases, Kunigami seems to have held up the best, and Nakagami has fared the worst. Again this reflects the military interest of both the Japanese and the Americans. The comparison of 1904 acreage with that of 1950 in each of the three areas is shown below:

Table IV

Area	1904 Acreage		1950 Acreage		% Decrease	
	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry
Kunigami	5,530.5	28,398.5	5,463.0	20,773.8	16%	27%
Nakagami	3,861.2	34,176.1	1,675.1	14,932.0	57%	56%
Shimajiri	5,370.3	30,978.7	2,443.9	21,904.4	55%	29%
Okinawa Island ¹	15,779.1	93,952.6	9,589.0	57,610.2	39%	39%

Chronology of Changes in Farming Technique

It is impossible to give for the whole of Okinawa a schedule showing just when each technical innovation was introduced. Some parts of Shimajiri and Nakagami were in advance of the rest of the island; conversely, one finds on the outer islands practices still carried on that the more progressive areas abandoned more than two decades ago.

In Yamada the transplanting of rice was originally done by scattering (bara'ii) of the shoots. Shortly before 1930 this method was replaced by planting in rows, with a string to mark the distance. The spaces were filled in by planting while walking backwards. About 1950 people started transplanting while moving forward. This has been replaced in part---at least in areas where the mud is firm and clayey---by the planting frame, the 'waku'.

Farmers kept the harvested rice in conical stacks (majin) several feet high. The bundles (tabai) had the heads facing inward to prevent attack by rats. The number of these stacks was indicative of the farmer's prestige in the community. The sheaves were removed from the bottom layer always, and only when rice was needed for food.

Removal of the grain from the stalk was accomplished by the kûrashi,jii. This was a pair of bamboo tongs held in the right hand, while the sheaf was drawn through the tongs with the left hand. When the new variety of rice was introduced, use of the kanabâ became common. This iron-comb-like device, through which the sheaves were drawn one at a time, can still be found in use on the isle of Sesoko, off the Motobu peninsula. It apparently did not find

¹ The discrepancy in the 1904 totals for Okinawa Island and grand totals for the three division of the island is accounted for by 17.1 acres of paddy land and 256.7 acres of dry fields in Naha, and 142.6 acres of dry fields in Shuri.

Two members of the SIRI team both saw bone-washings, and were both impressed by this display. The ceremony I saw consisted not only of the washing of one set of bones but the transfer of another skeleton from another tomb. While the tomb was being prepared the daughter of the man whose bones were being transferred was made to hold the skull. The sight of the teen-age girl holding her father's skull before her, hardly able to move, her lips and eyes shut tight, tears streaming down her face, is one not easily forgotten. 765

The Okinawans are curious about the funeral customs of others, sensitive about their own, and possibly dissatisfied with them. Their sensitivity is shown by the fact that after I had observed the bone-washing just mentioned, someone circulated a rumor, untrue, that I had photographed the ceremony in order to show Americans what went on. This rumor might have seriously damaged my rapport with this family and with others in the community if I had not been defended by the person who had supervised the bone-washing, the old lady mentioned at the beginning of this section. All three SIRI team members were questioned about American practices and heard statements to the effect that perhaps cremation should be adopted. Cremation does, of course, do away with the necessity for both the bone-washings and the large tombs. A crematorium is operating in Maha, but it is doubtful if the practice will spread very rapidly in the country. New tombs, bigger and better than ever, are still being built, old ones are being repaired, and the familiar method of burial and reburial goes on. The prestige attached to the larger and impressive tomb is undoubtedly a factor in the survival of the system. But there may also be psychic needs as yet unexplored that the system and in particular the emotional cry of the bone-washing satisfies. 764 765 123 829 [551] •

Offerings to the Dead After the funeral the family of the deceased makes offerings both before the tomb and before the temporary paper tablet in the home. During the first seven weeks after a death this tablet is kept on a low table with incense burning before it; relatives and neighbors make formal visits in order to burn incense, pray, and leave gifts of money. On every seventh day till the forty-ninth the family makes extra offerings, burns uchikabi (imitation paper money said to be used for paying taxes in the next world), and makes offerings before the tomb. Then the name is written on the permanent tablet. Thereafter, the family makes offerings at the tomb and at the tablets and burns uchikabi on the first, second, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversaries of the death. At the end of this time the deceased is believed to require no more individual consideration---if all the offerings up to that time have been properly made. 765 769

However, throughout each year on a number of occasions offerings are made for all the dead members of the family. These occasions are the major holidays, nearly all of which are primarily directed toward the worship of the dead. The principal of these are: 1) Lunar New Year's; 2) Shimii, in the spring, an occasion for visiting both the tomb of the immediate family and tombs of more remote ancestors; 3) the U-machii, the 15th days of the 5th and 6th lunar months, occasions when representatives of the larger kin groups worship before the ancestral tablets at the main house; 4) U-bung, during the 7th lunar month, when all the dead are believed to return to the house. Beside these there are a number of minor holidays on which offerings are made. 769 527

642 highly structured system; the overall impression is of rule by bureaucracy. Most importantly the average individual accepts all of this as in the natural ordering of things. The best possible relationship of the state to the people is thought to be a paternalistic one, like father to children. Such an attitude is wholly in keeping with a culture which has traditionally stressed family and community over individual, and obligations over rights.

[181] 632 'Son' Government The administrative center of every 'son' is the township office ('sonyakuba') which serves as the connecting link between the people of its villages and the central government in Naha. The main functions of this office are to transmit and implement the directives and laws of the central government to the people, to collect taxes, and to keep records---the most important of these being the household registry ('koseki') and land records ('tochi daichō'). The size of the office staff is largely determined by the township size; in the larger townships there are many departments and employees, but in a small 'son' several departments may be grouped under a single head.

632 The building housing this office is usually a single-storied structure located in the largest village of the township; a post office, school, agricultural office, and store are often nearby. The interior of the office building is one large room sometimes sub-divided into smaller offices by the use of screens; one end of the room is set aside for meetings. On the exterior of the building along one side the names of the various departments are above the windows. When a villager calls at the office on business, he ordinarily does not enter the building but stands outside the window appropriate to his business until a clerk or official of that department opens it and speaks to him.

632 At the head of the township government is the 'sonchō' ('son' mayor), who in addition to directing its affairs functions as the liaison between the 'son' and the central government. It was the author's impression after spending considerable time in one 'son' office and visiting several others that the 'sonchō' is usually a very busy man and that he is more often away from his office than in it. In addition to directing the activities of his office, he makes numerous inspections within the township, attends meetings and conferences in other parts of the island, and once a month participates in a council of all the mayors of the municipalities, which is held in Naha. The latter enables the mayors of the municipalities to discuss common problems and to come in contact with the officials of the central government. Three times each month he meets with the mayors ('kuchō') of the villages within his township for a discussion of local problems. It is said that the office can be a stepping stone for the politically ambitious since his activities bring a wide range of contacts; this cannot be said for any other office in the 'son' or 'ku'. During the course of his research on Okinawa the author met the mayors of five or six municipalities, and in all cases he was impressed by the intelligence and ability of these men. A mayor is elected for a term of four years and is eligible for reelection.

632 The chief lieutenants of the 'sonchō' are the assistant mayor ('joyaku') and the revenue officer or treasurer ('shūnyūyaku'); the latter usually directs all financial matters, and his major function is tax collection and

625 high esprit. A policeman's salary is high when compared to that of other government workers and the general public; in addition the job has other advantages such as a uniform and free transportation on public conveyances.

621 In rural areas there seems to be some resentment over what is con-
625 sidered to be high pay and special privileges for policemen; this was particularly true where the local policeman was not a native son. In one of the more isolated villages of northern Okinawa, a community which is noted for and prides itself on its strong community spirit, there was some irritation with what they felt to be an unnecessary presence of a policeman (not native to the village) in their midst. The village 'kuchō' and several villagers assured the author that the village was a most peaceful one, everyone cooperated well together, and there was never any stealing or violence. They were also resentful of the fact that the village supplied the policeman with free food and charcoal and that his pay, nevertheless, was about equal to that of their highly respected school principal.

875 It should be noted that whenever the low pay of teachers was men-
625 tioned the correspondingly high pay of the police was cited. The teacher traditionally has been venerated in this culture, and it is held that the
• 554 teacher is a better-educated person and should, therefore, receive a higher salary, as was the case before the war. In the past the higher positions in the bureaucracy were accorded or ideally should be accorded those with better educations, and since both the policeman and the teacher are civil government employees, the present situation with regard to their respective salaries seems unjust.

625 Most people express the belief that the police are honest and consci-
829 entious though their high pay may be resented. A number of people observed that the police are much better under the American military administration than they were under the Japanese government before the war, in that they are more polite and less officious today. Under present laws the powers of the police have been clearly defined to insure that they will not violate the rights of individuals as was frequently done in the past. Not a few Okinawans will contend that this curbing of police power while probably democratic has encouraged an increase in crime in recent years. The traditional attitude toward the policeman seems to be a mixture of fear and respect, and mothers frequently use the threat to call a policeman as a means of disciplining a child who misbehaves.

4. Political Participation by Women

562 Since the end of the war universal suffrage has been introduced into
[666] Okinawan political life. The enfranchisement of women has not brought with it a surge of political activity on their part. It is now theoretically possible for a woman to hold public office, but in actuality none to date has been elected to a national or municipal office. One woman declared herself a candidate for the Ryukyuan legislature in 1954 but later withdrew from the campaign shortly before election time. In the rural areas political participation by women is even more limited. The men in the village of Kanegusuku laugh when the subject of women in politics is mentioned; they say

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
 592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
 136] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the
 individual. The community is regarded as an association of families
 156] bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
 178] in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class dif-
 ferentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of
 any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the fami-
 lies were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
 829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to munic-
 592 ipal and national elections; within the village active political partici-
 666 pation is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of
 representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one
 village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elec-
 tions, his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more
 votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of
 Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
 152] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed
 by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of
 political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A
 number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group
 since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others
 who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the
 basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
 554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatri-
 ates and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are
 not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsis-
 tence) cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the de-
 mands on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs
 which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to
 devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with
 the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who other-
 wise meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers
 vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example
 for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time
 drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the
 total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria
 which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group,
 which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village
 leadership and forms the core of the body politic.

All village officials (excluding 'kumichō') held more land than the average, but the size of their holdings was not so great as to indicate that this was a very significant factor. It was stated that a leader must have sufficient experience and education to enable him to handle the necessary records and to make a good appearance at the village office. Most frequently, however, "good character" was cited as a most necessary prerequisite for an official; this was usually equated with "honest person" and "hard worker". Though the villagers stated that the age range of officials might lie between 28 and 55, the present village leaders are men in their forties. The man considered by a number of villagers to be their most able and influential political leader is forty-seven years old. In contrast the four 'kumichō' are young men ranging in age from 18 to 23, and only one of these is a household head.

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Above the village level in the 'son' (township) government one encounters the professional administrator or bureaucrat---mayor, assistant, treasurer, and department heads. These men, in sharp contrast to the village officials, have an educational background including at least high school and more usually some college, normal school, or other type of advanced training. One gets the impression that they are strongly aware of their personal superiority; their attitude toward the governed is somewhat condescending and at best rather paternalistic. It is doubtful that they regard themselves as public servants although those whom the author encountered appeared to be conscientiously dedicated to their jobs. Of these officials only the mayor is elected; the others are appointed by him with the approval of the township assembly.

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Most people are respectful toward their village officials, recognizing them to be among the ablest men in the community, but they most certainly are not in awe of them. Except for the two representatives to the 'son' assembly, new officials are elected every year, and it is very rare for a man to hold the same office for two consecutive years. No one person remains in a given office long enough to become identified with it or to achieve a special status.

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The officials of the township office are usually professional government workers who have held their positions for a number of years. The villagers look up to them as administrators and superior persons; the mere fact that one has an official position confers a superior status. Some people expressed the belief that officials are good since only persons of education and good character could possibly attain such positions, and nearly all are of the opinion that officials enjoy an easy life and high pay.

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Most rural villagers seem pessimistic about their relationship to the government; they are not mistrustful but rather they expect little. They strongly feel that the government is something from afar and wholly out of touch with their problems. This attitude may carry over from the old kingdom when an urban upper class administered a rural peasantry; the subsequent Japanese administration during its early years consisted of little more than the replacement of one ruling class with another. Nonetheless the government is looked to for aid and direction since it is

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[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
 423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
 727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given
 land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually
 landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings,
 chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had
 farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that
 he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that
 he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least
 amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established
 branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the
 former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
 241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
 [463] one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a
 month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider
 has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment
 worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
 [857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
 [476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks,
 and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors
 in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
 554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
 463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
 241 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupa-
 tion. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more,
 though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the
 younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are
 eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan
 student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the
 town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
 [433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their
 cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricul-
 tural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One
 young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured
 a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their plea-
 sure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status.
 Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will
 never be necessary to return and farm it.

[178] To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
 occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking
 place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employ-
 ment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless,
 this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like
 status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers.

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Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances.

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Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Maha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name.

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Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village.

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759 The yabuu also prescribe herbal remedies. They do not, however,
 757 prepare their medicines, but rather instruct the patient how to gather and
 [278] prepare the plants for use. The act of preparing one's own medicine may thus
 have a magical value. Yabuu also prescribe the eating of certain parts of
 certain animals for their good influence on the corresponding parts of the
 human body. Dogs and cats are among the animals so used. (This practice
 may be the source of the belief widespread among Americans on Okinawa that
 the Okinawans eat dogs; they do, on rare occasions, but not as food, merely
 as medicine.)

759 Short-cut Systems Standing somewhere between the yabuu and the modern doctor
 are several types of practitioners who give treatments
 with heat, light, steam, etc. as all-purpose cures. One man was observed to
 use a tube in which he burned a substance, probably moxa, while he moved it
 over the patient's body. His system seemed to be the moxibustion of the
yabuu dressed up with "scientific" gadgets. He was described by a friend
 as "half-doctor half-yabuu", a description that was meant to elicit a favor-
 able response since it implies that he possesses the efficacy of both.

759 In addition to these full-time professionals on the fringes of medi-
 758 cine, there are also a number of part-time penicillin-shooters, who are par-
 [164] ticularly active in areas frequented by American personnel, where they are
 in demand for the treatment of venereal disease. Penicillin is sold freely
 and in quantity, perhaps because of the prevalence of venereal disease, and
 has become a very popular treatment even for very minor infections. Hormone
 shots also seem to be widely used by untrained persons.

759 Modern Medicine There are of course modern Japanese-trained doctors on
 [177] Okinawa. But they are relatively few in number, about
 one for every 3,900 persons.¹ Trained nurses and medical facilities are
 also too few and too little. But even if there were more doctors and more
 facilities, it is doubtful that the ordinary Okinawan would make more use
 of them.

759 Medical doctors have a high status in Okinawan society. They are
 753 admired and respected. Parents frequently express the wish that a son
 829 might grow up to become a doctor. But the advice of the doctor is not al-
 ways heeded. The respect may be more for his education and the social po-
 [354] sition it gives him than for his professional opinion. In the matter of
 illness the advice that the ordinary Okinawan respects is more likely to be
 that of the older members of his own family and of the familiar yuta, san-
insoo, and yabuu, for this advice is given in terms of insufficiency of
 worship, soul-loss, and the influence of the twelve-year-cycle. These are
 concepts that are familiar to him and have an integration with other be-
 liefs, which the concepts dealt with by the doctor do not have. The doc-
 tor's very disregard of the supernatural runs counter to the feelings of the

¹ CAARI, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 52 gives 126 practicing physicians for Okinawa
 plus 50 working for GRI. Japan has about one for every 1300 persons;
 Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, gives 63,273 (p. 432) and the total
 population as 80,216,896 (p. 12).

CHAPTER X: EDUCATION

W. P. Suttles

121 None of the SIRI team worked on education as such. We have no basis
 871 for a discussion of the physical condition of the schools, number of teachers
 per pupil, texts, etc., other than the data readily available in USCAR publi-
 cations. However, it may be useful to include in this report a brief chapter
 on attitudes toward education, the role of the teacher, and evidence of the
 results of education, as we have seen them in the course of our research. As
 I shall try to point out, there are indications that education on Okinawa may
 not be doing all that it professes to do. Yet it is a remarkable and praise-
 worthy fact that education has progressed as well as it has, considering the
 truly terrible destruction of the war and the long and trying process of re-
 building the material facilities and the morale of teachers and students.

1. Respect for Education

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 • 554 Respect for education and the educated is deeply rooted in Okinawan
 565 culture. For several centuries administrative posts in the Ryukyuan kingdom
 1647 were filled by officials drawn from the gentry class and appointed, it is said,
 on the basis of an examination. The gentry class held a virtual monopoly of
 education, which was thus one of the bases of their superior status. It is
 not surprising that the gentry class of the past is identified with learning.
 An illiterate old man of gentry descent once explained to me that the gentry
 were originally teachers appointed to various villages, thus misinterpreting
 the former bureaucracy as a school system.

871 Another profession open to the educated man in the past, and in the
 554 present, is that of the diviner. One of the native terms for this person is
 791 sumuchi, the "person with books", his books being the ones with which he
 reads a person's fate. This is a profession that commands respect. It is
 quite likely that at one time the diviner was the only person who possessed
 books with whom the ordinary peasant ever had contact. Books were thus
 associated with status and with nearly supernatural power.

554 Education is still regarded as a means of rising in status. As indi-
 871 cated in Chapter V, the potential scholar is given special treatment by his
 family because all may participate in the rise in status that his education
 may bring. But times have changed. In the days of the Ryukyuan kingdom the
 rewards for education may have come automatically, but under the Japanese
 administration this was less true, and perhaps least of all today. Education
 is indeed still valued for its own sake, but it is expected to bring material
 rewards; if it does not, its authenticity may be questioned.

554 Still, the prestige of learning probably accounts for a type of pseudo-
 871 scholar who may be found both in the rural and in the urban scene. In several
 villages we encountered such individuals, elderly men who were regarded as
 local sages, who discoursed learnedly and uncritically on local traditions,
 who revealed information derived from one or two carefully guarded books

(their 'tane-hon', "seed books"), and who seemed to have little contact with others of their own interests. (I must hasten to add that there are also genuine local historians and folklorists who are critical, open to new ideas, and in contact with reputable men in their field; but these are clearly in the minority.) In the city the pseudo-scholar may be a man teaching a subject that he is totally incompetent to teach or he may be one of the numerous diviners and medical practitioners described in Chapter IX. Some of the diviners (sanjinsoo), however, could be better described as genuinely serious scholars working in a pseudo-science. 554 •

2. The Role of the Teacher

Despite the great importance attached to the family in East Asian societies and which the Japanese government has always professed to attach to it, the Japanese education system of pre-war times actually took more authority away from the family than does the American system. Incidents related by informants indicate that both before the war and since a teacher may reprimand a student for breaking school regulations outside of school hours and even in the student's own home. The police also may report the misdeeds of a student to the student's teacher rather than to his parents.¹ Partly this authority must have come from the teacher's position in a nationalized system of education and his role as the local spokesman for Japanese nationalism. And on Okinawa teachers had the additional task of creating good Japanese out of little Okinawans. This meant teaching the Japanese language as well as the Japanese ideology.² 871
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Since the war the status of the teacher has deteriorated. Partly this may be due to the fact that he is no longer the local representative of a powerful government, and partly it may be due to poor morale resulting from the tragedy of war, but it is also undoubtedly due to a lower economic status. Teachers were formerly relatively well-paid. In 1954 Okinawan teachers were receiving a basic average salary of ¥34.00 per month, principals, ¥61.10. A police chief, by contrast, receives ¥64.70. An elementary teacher, who must have 12 years of schooling and six months of professional training, at present receives 75% of the salary of a policeman on the beat, who must have 9 years of schooling and three months of training; in the prewar period the teacher received 155% of the salary of the policeman. 875
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¹ See also "Police" in Chapter VI.

² That in this effort they were not always successful is revealed by a few anecdotes: Someone is said to have encouraged a child to interrupt his teacher's lecture on the virtues of the semidivine monarch with the question, "Does the Emperor produce night soil?" Students are said to have referred to him secretly as 'Ten-chan', "Empty-Boy", rather than 'Tenno Heika', "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor". And the very old and the very young are said to have parodied 'Amaterasu Omikami', the name of the Sun Goddess, with "Aman-tarashi kuman-tarashi 'waa nu kami", "dropping it there, dropping it here, the pig god."

- 875 As indicated above, education is highly regarded as a key to success,
 • 554 but it still must produce financial rewards. Education earns for one the
 178 esteem of his fellows, but not as much as does money. This decline in status
 seems to have produced considerable dissatisfaction among teachers. This is
 probably true at all levels. The best-known Okinawan scholars, for example,
 have mainly chosen to remain in Japan.

3. Classroom Atmosphere

- 876 Informants gave the impression that the pre-war classroom atmosphere
 [871] was decidedly more authoritarian than at present. Most of what was taught was
 rather rigidly prescribed by the Ministry of Education and questions were not
 encouraged. Students rarely spoke up, partly because of the attitudes of the
 teachers and partly at embarrassment at having to speak in Japanese. Free
 discussion was probably less common even than in Japan.

In their attempt to make their students learn Japanese some schools adopted the tag system that has been mentioned elsewhere in connection with the prevention of the misuse or theft of crops. In the Yamada school before the war there was for each class a 'hōgen fuda', "dialect tag", which was hung around the neck of the first child heard speaking "the dialect", that is, the Okinawan language. This child wore the tag in disgrace until he heard another child slip into Okinawan, whereupon he hung the tag around that child's neck. And so it went from child to child. The difference between such a system of control and those regarded as appropriate by modern Western educators can hardly be exaggerated. It is true that the tag does resemble the old dunce cap, known to us from cartoons of the last century, in that it uses ridicule as the form of punishment. But in other respects it is different. First, it means that one child is singled out to function as an unwilling policeman, his functioning as policeman being part of his disgrace; that is, as long as he is in disgrace with the tag he is forced to watch for another culprit. Second, the system does not provide equal punishment for the same crime; one child may wear the tag a day while another wears it a week or more, both for the same offense. And third, the theory behind the system does not assume that the offense can be eliminated altogether; on the contrary there must always be some child to make the mistake of speaking Okinawan for the system to work.

- [683] As used in the village as a whole the tag system sometimes worked considerable hardship. A person who received the tag for cutting someone else's crop or his own cane out of season had to pay two sen a day to the village. It is said that there is an old woman in Naha who was sold when a girl into prostitution by her father because he could not get rid of the tag and could no longer make the payments. Here is a concept of justice that is indeed remote from ours.

- 876 No doubt the tag system is no longer in use anywhere on Okinawa.
 178 Students say that the schools are less authoritarian and that there is con-
 875 siderably more freedom of discussion. Yet many of the teachers are the same
 persons who imposed such controls as the tag system a few years ago. Some
 [777] may have opposed the former rigidity and some may have changed their views
 since, but it would be surprising indeed if all have taken over American ideas.

4. Present Problems

871 If one asks the question, "Is the present education system giving Okinawa what it needs?", even a casual glance suggests a negative answer. It should be obvious from some of the material of this report that the ordinary Okinawan is disastrously ignorant of many things that concern him---in economics, politics, and particularly in matters of health and sanitation. Yet this ignorance does not seem to be confined to the less educated. It was a college student who gave some of the folk beliefs about disease. Another young man indicated that the schools themselves by attempted rationalization may be perpetuating an uncritical attitude; his high school teacher had explained that crows do not really know when someone is going to die because they possess supernatural power; they know it because they can smell death.

000 The difficulty lies partly in the unwillingness of most Okinawans, one might say most human beings, to re-examine cherished beliefs. Ignorance of the true nature of disease, as discussed in Chapter IX, is not merely due to the absence of knowledge, but rather to the presence of a set of traditional beliefs that form a body of "knowledge", incorrect though it may be, that provides the individual with the explanations he needs. In order to teach modern scientific explanations, educators must determine what the body of folk belief consists of, re-evaluate it, and devise methods whereby its falsity can be demonstrated. Doing this would not be easy; it would be doubly hard because of the greater importance given to the opinions of older people in Okinawan society.

871 Ignorance may also be due to lack of interest. Education is a source
 • 554 of prestige to the educated individual. But education as defined by Okinawan culture perhaps does not include such subjects as botany and entomology. At any rate certain fields of study, English literature for example, seem to have enormous attraction, while others, applied sciences such as agriculture, have little. Moreover, other observers have reported that among those Okinawans who are engaged in work in applied sciences there seems to be a distaste for field work and a preference for office work. This too may reflect a higher value placed on sedentary "paper work" and a lower one on work with the hands.

876 As Lebra has pointed out in Chapter II, most Okinawans suffer from a
 177 linguistic handicap. Most children learn Okinawan in the home and then have to learn a second language, Japanese, in the school. This immediately gives them less time for learning other things. But their troubles do not end with the acquisition of a speaking knowledge of Japanese. This is not so very difficult since the two languages are closely related. But the Japanese system [22] of writing, with its two native syllabaries plus the Chinese characters, is incredibly complicated and requires an enormous expenditure of time and effort. A student learning the geography of Okinawa, for example, must spend a great part of his time learning the characters for Okinawan place names and thus, as in one instance observed, he may not get around to learning where all of them are.

The opinion of a former teacher is worth noting. When I worked with him in 1945 he told me that he and other teachers who privately believed that

the representation of the sounds of any other language. Its open syllables and lack of distinction between "l" and "r", "si" and "shi", etc., result in such horrors as "ri-to-ru" for "little" and "shi-ku-su" for "six". And these are the pronunciations learned by the unsuspecting children, pronunciations that are unintelligible to a native speaker of English and which must be later unlearned if the student is to acquire a usable knowledge of English. 876 197

But even though the teaching of English in this manner is pretty clearly a waste of time, there is great resistance to abandoning it. A USCAR official who has visited many schools told us that he had frequently had the painful experience of having to meet the English teacher. This usually meant pretending to communicate in order to save the face of the man and the school. Yet even school officials who realize how poor the instruction is are unwilling to discontinue it. The prestige of English is too great and too many persons are depending upon it. Perhaps again we have the Okinawan theme--- One must not interfere with the livelihood of another.

No doubt there is a need for instruction in English to students on the high school and college level, but like any language English can be taught most effectively and with the least waste of effort by persons who have had the linguistic training. Americans who have had no special training in this field are also likely to be less effective teachers.

It has been suggested several times that the Okinawan language, or one of the several varieties of it, might be reduced to an alphabetical system of writing and that this might make possible the development of an Okinawan literature. The suggestion has evidently not met with much enthusiasm. Two obstacles stand in the way of such an endeavor. First, the creation of a good phonemic transcription for Okinawan would require considerable work by a trained linguist. Second, to produce a literature requires incentive in persons of talent. At the present time the high prestige of Japanese and English and the low value placed on Okinawan provide little basis for such incentive. If such an endeavor were successful, however, it could well provide Okinawa with a greater cultural self-sufficiency than it has known for several generations. But the question might also be asked, is the creation of greater linguistic fragmentation and of national feelings in small groups desirable in a world that is growing smaller by the day? 212 197 [554] ooo

I have discussed linguistic factors in education in some detail not only because they present problems in themselves but also because they illustrate the operation of a factor that may create even greater problems, the factor of values existing among educators and those receiving education alike. The high value placed on literary Japanese and now on English are merely two elements of a value system that often is not in accord with the urgent needs of Okinawan society. Of more immediate concern to education, of course, are the continuation of the program of rebuilding Okinawa's schools and the provision of more incentive for persons to enter and stay in the teaching profession. But ultimately the problem of values is likely to become a crucial one, if Okinawa is to have a healthier and more democratic society. The task facing the educators of Okinawa's youth and the educators of the educators is a difficult one: it requires a fine balance between authority and freedom.

Statistics show (see chapter on Agricultural History) that since the termination of the communal land holding system in 1903, there has been a steady decrease in the amount of land cultivated on Okinawa. That this has continued unabated at the same time that the population has rapidly increased seems a paradox. Most certainly improvements in crop yields through research development have not been sufficient to offset this. Nor has the tax burden been excessive or crushing; in fact, quite the contrary is true since the Japanese substantially reduced land taxes when they abolished the communal system. What is more, the shortage of food has for many years necessitated importation of a considerable portion of the food consumed, and in view of the limited job opportunities in pre-war Okinawa, it seems unlikely that this means of livelihood would be overlooked. It would seem that the major reasons for this decline are cultural and historical.

It will be recalled that the farmer in the Okinawan kingdom lived in a state of serfdom; class differences were in effect those of caste. When freed from the restrictions by the Japanese, many were likely eager to depart from the farm village. The status of the farmer traditionally has been quite low on Okinawa. People dislike farming, and those who do farm state quite frankly that they are farmers only because they know nothing else, being poorly educated or possessed of little ability. No young men were heard to express a desire to become farmers, and no father wishes this occupation for his son. Pitts and the author noted in studying the household registries for their respective villages that not infrequently the first son has left the farm to seek employment elsewhere, quite contrary to usual Japanese practice. Farming is not a goal for the Okinawan youth today, and at the University of the Ryukyus the quotas for admission to agricultural studies were barely filled in 1954 whereas some of the other departments had three and four times as many applicants as openings. Centuries of a communal land ownership system left the farmer with no feeling of attachment toward his soil such as exists among the Chinese peasantry. Land was frequently reapportioned, and no plots were retained long enough by a given cultivator to give him a feeling of proprietorship. It is said that few ever tried to improve their holdings, as they felt these would soon be allotted to another.

The nature of taxation under the communal land system together with slowly rising population also made necessary a greater exploitation of land resources than is necessary today. The old tax rate was fixed and was set at a ratio of 40%. If the government had set 100 koku per year as the expected yield for a given village, then the government demanded 40 koku from that village each year. This may perhaps have been satisfactory to the villagers at the time of assessment, but as the population slowly rose there were more mouths to feed out of the villagers' 60 koku portion, and there was no respite from the tax demands in time of crop failure. Consequently, there was increasing pressure to bring more and more land under cultivation; undoubtedly, inferior, low-yield, idle soils were made into farm land. After the peasant was freed from this system and the trend toward sugar production began, foods were imported from outside, and the slow contraction of arable land figures began.

The average Japanese farm of 2 1/2 acres and the average Chinese farm of over 4 acres contrast strongly with the Okinawan average (and most are

241 average, since the range is narrow) of approximately one acre.¹ Even by the
 433 most skillful and intensive gardening methods there are limits to what can
 be extracted from the best of soils. One might say that the average Okinawan
 farmer is engaged in sub-subsistence farming. With the traditionally low
 241 status accorded a farmer and the minute size of his holdings it is hardly any
 554 wonder that the Okinawan does not like farming and is eager to accept whatever
 is available elsewhere.

198 Land loss to military installations has accelerated a process which
 241 has been operative for fifty years. In this case, however, the effect has
 been concentrated in certain areas and not distributed over the island at
 311 large; consequently, there has been considerable hardship in these localities.
 729 But the main point of bitterness where it has been so engendered is over the
 loss of livelihood rather than over the loss of the land per se. The point,
 they feel, is that not only have they lost their lands but that they also are
 not receiving adequate compensation for this loss. It would not be an exag-
 geration to state that most perhaps would prefer to be landlords, under
 reasonable terms, to the military than farm the land if it were available
 again.

198 Okinawan food production has passed through three phases in the last
 433 fifty to sixty years. During the first phase prior to the land reform of
 1897-1903 there was a self-sufficiency of food in the rural areas. After the
 reform, the Japanese subsidized sugar and did much to encourage its production,
 which rose to a point 900% above local consumption. This led to a sharp de-
 cline in acreage planted in other foods, particularly grains--rice, wheat,
 millet. Since 1943 there has been a shift toward increasing food production²,
 and sugar has dropped to about one-tenth its prewar level. In some villages
 such as Kanegusuku where mat weaving was formerly of considerable importance
 the irrigated fields formerly planted in sedge have been replanted with rice.
 Despite the increasing emphasis on food production it is unlikely that the
 village will ever return to self-sufficiency, for in recent years new tastes
 have altered the diet and created a dependence on foods not produced within
 the village.

198 Settlement Patterns The reconstruction of villages after the war
 361 often did not follow the prewar pattern. Suttles states that prewar Yamada
 was a scattered settlement made up of several small hamlets, whereas the new
 postwar settlement is a nucleated one. The new site is at an important cross-
 roads, while the heart of the old village is virtually empty. North of Yamada
 on the highway to Nago one can see where the new road has departed from the
 old one: in several cases the villagers have moved closer to the new road
 despite the fact that it was much dustier there.

¹ Cresssey, George B., Asia's Lands and Peoples, New York, 1944, p. 84, p. 191.

² Several informants stated that the word went out to the farmers in that
 year to concentrate all efforts on food production. Undoubtedly this was
 linked to the turn of events in the war for the Japanese.

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871
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A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871
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Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871
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Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437
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Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that, due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434
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Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations--teacher, doctor, government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class.

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Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty."

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Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations.

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Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents.

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If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the

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464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
 562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
 829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who
 were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief
 that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
 [183] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual free-
 dom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
 554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office
 workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids,
 after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units;
 lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers'
 and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be dis-
 tinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
 [291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
 [197] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and
 flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
 594 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
 582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate
 the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or \$10-15 per month) for maids is
 466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which
 they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
 [465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges
 which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
 [515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a size-
 able outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
 554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
 829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimina-
 tion against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American
 or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been
 sold by their parents into this low status.

186 Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers It was the author's im-
 829 pression that even those
 who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period
 of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the
 general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any
 stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so un-
 familiar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture.
 Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure
 of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and
 Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural
 backgrounds.

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186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not
a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
648 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is
a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the
social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make inter-
action on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural back-
grounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives
and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap,
as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent.
Factors that have entered into the formation of these
attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu"
(Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no
distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state
of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed
to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that
the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan,
in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be
politically independent and their political independence made it possible for
them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments,
particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer con-
tact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of
Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind
of Chinese.